1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

243 (Plate 4); what is wanted is a level terrace as near as possible to a bathing pool,
361 and a good supply of drinking water. If the valley be confined, and flat land
571 scarce, then two or more *dampa* will be constructed in the same locality. A
342 *dampa* is a structure built on exactly the same pattern as an ordinary long-house, though always on a somewhat smaller scale. Just as in a long-house (*rumah panjai*), each family possesses an apartment of its own, consisting of *bilek*, *sadau*, *ruai*, and *tanju*. Commonly the walls of a *dampa* are of bark, and its flooring of split bamboo, but it is nonetheless, a substantial and well-built house, designed to serve as a main residence for some years. It is usual, for example, to find most *dampa* properly roofed with ironwood shingles—the only form of lasting protection against the torrential rains of central Borneo; and they are comfortably furnished with all of the everday requirements of the Iban. Essential equipment is carried from the main long-house—and the *dampa* becomes the domestic headquarters of the family. In its loft (*sadau*) the *padi* stocks of the *bilek* (which may amount to 100 bushels or more) are stored, and beneath the house, and in
[231] its precincts, roam the domestic fowls and pigs of which each family possesses at least a few. Many *dampa* indeed, have the appearance of being permanent habitations. Few of them, however, are occupied for more than five or six years in succession, for as soon as the slopes of the surrounding valleys have all been cultivated, it becomes imperative to move on to fresh jungle. When this stage is
243 reached, the Iban must perforce change their place of abode, though they usually
361 do so with considerable reluctance, the transporting of all the manifold appur-
489 tenances of a *bilek* family over several miles of hilly country being no light undertaking. Sometimes it is possible to travel by canoe, but more often than not, everything must be laboriously carried on foot. The old *dampa* is dismantled, and the more valuable parts of it (e.g. ironwood shingles and floor laths, etc.), taken to the new site where a new house is erected. The whole operation, the clearing of the site, building the apartment, and transporting the *padi* stocks and domestic paraphenalia, commonly takes several months; and the time chosen is always the period between the completion of harvest and the beginning of the next agricultural cycle, during the months of April, May, June and July. When the move has been achieved, the new *dampa* then becomes a base for farming the hills and valleys that encircle it, and serves as a main homestead during the four or five ensuing years—or until such time as all the jungle within easy reach has been felled and farmed.

243 72. In this intermittent way, *dampa* follows *dampa*, until a return is made to
361 the main long-house, there to farm again the secondary jungle in its immediate precincts, and so initiate a further grand cycle of cultivation. The exact nature of this grand cycle of cultivation varies from long-house to long-house, according to the number of *bilek* families in the community and the extent of the territory available to them; i.e. the 'population-land balance.'[1] The range of variation is, in fact, considerable, but many communities in the Baleh region are in a position to follow grand cycles of cultivation of from 15 to 25 years' duration. If one assumes a cycle of say 20 years, it is typical that not more than about a quarter of this period is spent actually farming from the main long-house. The remainder of the period is taken up in operating from a succession of three or four different *dampa*, spaced at strategic points within the long-house territory.

73. When the *dampa* system is being practised, it is usual nonetheless, for family members to make fairly regular visits to the long-house to inspect property

[1] W. Allan, "Studies in African Land Usage in Northern Rhodesia," Oxford, 1949, p. 74.

243 to the *dampa*. The women participating in *nyuma* move about amidst the clumps of *padi* selecting the most mature panicles they can find, but at such an early stage none of the heads is fully ripe. While the grains at the tip of the panicle have hardened, those at the base are still slightly soft, so that if they are squeezed a milky fluid (termed *ai tusu* by the Iban) is expressed. Because of this the *padi* 243 cannot be threshed in the normal way by treading; instead the grain is scraped 252 (*ngerih*) from the panicles by hand with a bamboo 'knife'. This done, the grain is placed in a cooking pot, and boiled until the swollen kernels split open the still green husks. Next the grain is laid out on mats in the heat of the mid-day sun, and when dry, pounded in the usual way with a pestle and mortar. This whole process, from scraping to pounding, takes about four or five hours, and the rice (*brau*) is then ready for its final cooking. To quote a typical case, the reaping and *mata padi* rites took place at 0800 hours, the grain was prepared between 1100 hours and 1530 hours, and the first eating began at 1900 hours.

243 138. The first eating of the new rice, on the evening of the day upon which it 264 is reaped, is a ritual occasion. Each *bilek* family possesses as part of its hereditary property, a special plate (*pinggai asi*) which is used only during certain rituals. For example, the first meal of a spouse on entry to a new *bilek* family is taken from this plate; it is also used in the first eating of the new season's rice. When all the members of the *bilek* family have assembled, the *pinggai asi*, piled up with rice, is carried to the centre of the room, and placed on top of a *nendak* omen-stick obtained the same morning. A prayer, in consecration, is uttered, and then a small portion of the rice rubbed on the hearth stones, to 'feed' them, and make propitious the cooking arrangements during the ensuing year. Next a share is [231 put out for the dogs—a safeguard this, for it is believed that any deleterious 789] influences which may have become associated with the *padi*, because of bad omens and the like encountered during the period of its cultivation, will thus be visited upon the dogs. Only when the dogs have eaten do the members of the family help themselves (in order of seniority) from the *pinggai asi*, and begin their meal. On the various occasions when I attended these *makai padi baru* [789 rituals, I was always asked to eat first, so that the wealth and other qualities 782] associated with Europeans by the Iban, might in some part come into the possession of the *bilek* family concerned—and a prayer, aimed at bringing this about was always said. The first eating is a jubilant and light-hearted event, and quite often, young men return from tapping rubber, hunting, or some other work especially to participate. The fresh, young rice does have a most delicious tang about it, and is eaten with much smacking of the lips, and such appreciative asides as: "*Manis amat!*" ("Truly sweet!"), and "*Nyamai amat d'empa!*" ("Pleasant indeed to eat!").

243 139. At Rumah Nyala in 1950, *nyuma* began on 10th February (about 143 days after sowing), and most of the other *bilek* families held their rituals during the following week. All but one of the 25 *bilek* families of the community performed *nyuma*. If a family still has stocks of *padi* from the previous year, *nyuma* is only done once or twice, but those families which have exhausted their supplies tend to continue with this premature reaping rather than purchase *padi* from others. At Rumah Nyala, one or two improvident *bilek* families reaped immature *padi* in large quantities. This is an unsound practice economically, for when *padi* is reaped before it is properly mature a percentage of grain from each panicle is, in fact, lost. The custom of *nyuma* thus helps to initiate (or to perpetuate) a vicious cycle, for excessive 'premature reaping' accelerates the exhaustion of a

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

should be used with caution when small and variable units, such as the Iban *bilek* family, are being discussed. To illustrate this let us examine the households of Gayar (No. 8) and Majau (No. 13), of Rumah Nyala, both of which have five members. Gayar's *bilek* contains two adult males, two adult females and a child of about six years; while Majau's family comprises a man and woman, two children (9 years and 3 years) and a baby that is still a suckling. If we accept Dr. Jack's estimates, Majau's family would need only about 320 gantangs of *padi* per year, while Gayar's household would require some 470 gantangs, or almost half as much again. This suggests that due allowance must be made for special features in the composition of individual *bilek* families.

Subsidiary Consumption

234. In addition to its basic needs in food, a household requires *padi* for a number of other purposes. First and foremost there is the seed (*benih*) which must be put aside for the next season's planting. We have seen that the average sowing rate (at Rumah Nyala) was 5½ gantangs of *padi* per acre, so that a family of five members would require about 30 gantangs of *padi* seed. (What usually happens is that a family stores away a good deal more seed than it is likely to need. This is a safeguard against crop failure. Thus, in 1950, the *bilek* family of Kubu had 57 gantangs of *padi* seed, of 18 different varieties. When the success of the crop is assured, the residue of seed can then be eaten).

235. Many Iban families possess one or more dogs, which are used in the hunting of wild pigs and other game. On the whole these dogs are very indifferently cared for; few are fed properly and most of them are forced to slink and skulk about the long-house in search of scraps and left overs. An owner who looks after his dogs gives them a staple diet of boiled rice (*asi bubur*), and from Iban testimony and brief general observation, I estimate that the feeding of a dog is likely to cost between 30 and 35 gantangs of *padi* per year.

236. It is the ambition of every Iban family to build up a flourishing flock of fowls. Eggs are an essential ingredient of the standard offerings (*piring*) which accompany almost every Iban ritual; on important occasions fowls are used in making sacrifices, or in paying for services; the men are always on the watch for young birds that can be trained for cock-fighting. During the daylight hours, fowls are set free to seek food in the environs of the long-house, but this diet is always supplemented by a daily ration of *padi*. The number of fowls which a household can keep is dependent then on its *padi* stocks. A normal household is likely to expend at least from 40 to 50 gantangs of *padi* per annum on its fowls. It should be noted however that there is a good deal of variation in this matter, so that while penurious households are forced well below this level, successful farmers often devote a large part of their surplus to the rearing of chickens.

Padi Expended on Rituals

237. We finally come to the rather difficult task of estimating the average annual expenditure of *padi* on religious rituals, feasting and drinking. The first points to be made are that all the major rituals (e.g. all of the head-hunting and prestige *gawai*) are performed by individual *bilek* families and not by the long-house community as a whole, and further, that (with but rare exceptions) they are only staged when a *padi* surplus has been achieved. The holding of a major *gawai* is usually planned well in advance (i.e. by as much as one or two years), and those *bilek* families desiring to participate make a special effort to produce

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
OC6 Iban OC6

seed, and weeding the plants after they have sprung up, and in collecting the harvest when the crop is ripe; this, as the padi seldom all ripens together, is a tedious and laborious occupation, as they have to cut off each ear, or head of the padi, separately. They generally return to their houses half an hour before the men, who arrive at dark, so that they may have their plain and simple food prepared for them; this seldom consists of any thing but rice and salt, except when their traps are successful in procuring them better fare. Though they have numbers of fowls, pigs, and goats, about their houses, they seldom kill them excepting on occasions of general festivity. When they can afford to purchase salt fish from the Malays, they much prefer it to animal food.

Nor after the harvest has been gathered, and the labours of the farm have for a time ceased, are the women allowed to be idle; they have constant employment in making cloth of the cotton, as already noticed; fine mats of rattans worked into pretty patterns; baskets for the next season, made of split and coloured rattans, which they carry on their backs, suspended by a band which crosses the forehead; clearing padi from the husk, so that it may be brought to market as rice, or preparing it for their own use; these, together with their household duties, attending to their children, and carrying wood and water for their families, fully occupy their time, and the cheerful alacrity with which these are all undertaken by them, is alike

4: Roth E-4 (no date) 1891 OC6 Iban OC6

few minutes in the sun before putting on their *chawats* (loin-cloths).

Their next duty is to prepare the morning meal. They eat with the men or not as they please, but they generally prefer to feed with the children after the men have finished. When breakfast is all over they clean up the crockery and brush the floor. The pigs and poultry are fed with the refuse, as are also the dogs.

They are now ready to accompany the men to the farm, or if not required they pursue their own occupations, which are various and manifold. As it is necessary to provide vegetables for the next meal, they visit their gardens for this purpose and bring home with them whatever they may be able to find in them, viz.:—cucumbers, pumpkins, melons, capsicums, &c. Tapioca leaves, cucumber leaves, and sweet-potato leaves are used by them as much as anything else, and they are fond of them when boiled in water.

Sometimes they go out fishing with scoop nets when they have the time to spare, or are desirous of a change of diet. It is the business of the men to provide pork, venison, and fresh fish, but the preserving is done by the women, who smoke or pickle according to fancy. There is never a want of firewood in a Dyak house; one of the first duties of a husband is to provide this, or he gets into bad odour with his wife or mother-in-law. The wood is smoked until every particle of moisture is evaporated out, and it becomes quite brittle and hard. If the women go out in the forenoon upon expeditions of the above kind, they have to be back again by the middle of the day to cook the mid-day meal. If they are busy on the farm, and mean to make a day of it with the family, they take what rice they require with them early in the morning and cook it on the spot to avoid the journey to and fro.

At two o'clock in the afternoon they pound a measure of paddy with heavy wooden pestles to free it from the husk; each woman is provided with a wooden mortar which is placed either in the *tempuan* or thoroughfare, or inside the *bilich* or room, and two women pound away at each. At 4 p.m. they bathe, and at 5 p.m. they are busy cooking for the third and last meal of the day. After the things are cleared away they hang up the mosquito curtains, and put the children to bed, while they sit up for an hour or two to converse with the men, and retire to rest when tired.

In addition to the above routine of daily labour, they have a variety of things to do and are never idle. They have to fetch drinking water and to nurse the babies, and when they are tired of carrying them about in their arms, they strap them on to their back with a cloth.

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6
Bahau OC5

and less to the soil. The hunter usually proceeds on foot, accompanied by his dogs, which run on ahead and beat up the game, while he dawdles about gathering things on the way that may be useful to him. He knows when his beaters are on the scent by their peculiar clamorous bark, and he hurries up to spear the animal they have brought to bay. A Dyak village swarms with dogs, but few of them are fit for the labours of the chase, being for the most part curs that whine and howl and are of no use whatever, except to consume the refuse food and prowl about the premises. They are small in size and of a tawny colour. The breed is known to the scientific world by the specific name of *canis rutilans*. Some are striped with black, others are plain; they are called *saih* or *sabit*, according as they are one or the other. The former are the fiercer looking of the two. The best of them, that is to say, those employed in the chase, are plucky little animals and will worry a boar three or four times their size and not give in until cruelly mauled. Such dogs are worth their weight in dollars to those who are fond of boar and venison, and invaluable to those tribes who, like the Batakans, depend upon the hunting path for their food.

The quarry is carried on the back in a pack-basket suspended from the shoulders, and is cut up at home. If it is too heavy or too bulky to be transported in this fashion it is either cut up on the spot or dragged by the leg along the ground to the nearest watercourse and conveyed home in a canoe. The Dyaks infinitely prefer pork to venison, the former being the richer, fatter, and juicier of the two; indeed the venison of the country is coarse and devoid of fat. There is no waste in the preparation of animal food. The horns and tusks come in for a variety of uses, ornamental, superstitious, and economical. The larger bones are preserved to be hereafter fashioned into knife handles. The smaller bones are chopped up with the meat and fat to be afterwards salted or smoked as choice may dictate. All pickled food, *makasam*, is esteemed, and especially so pickled pork; pickled venison and pickled fish are devoured with immense satisfaction.

The Kiñahs preserve the skulls and jaws of the animals killed by their dogs in the chase, and of such as they offer in sacrifice; but they abandon them when they abandon the village, for it is not permitted by custom to take them away from one place to another.

Spring bows.—As the woods are full of pig and deer, the Dyaks resort to various contrivances to secure these denizens of the forest. Spring bows are set and pitfalls are dug in likely places for them to run against and tumble into. The *peti*, as

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

for cooking. The shelf immediately above the fireplace is set apart for smoking fish. The shelves above are filled with firewood, which is thoroughly dried by the smoke and ready for use. As the smoke from the wood fire is not conducted through the roof by any kind of chimney, it spreads itself through the loft, and blackens the beams and rafters of the roof.

This room also serves as a dining-room. When the food is cooked, mats are spread here, and the inmates squat on the floor to eat their meal. There is no furniture, the floor serving the double purpose of table and chairs.

This *bilik* also serves as a bedroom. At night the mats for sleeping on are spread out here, and the mosquito-curtains hung up.

There is no window to let in the air and light, but a portion of the roof is so constructed that it can be raised a foot or two, and kept open by means of a stick.

Round the three sides of this room are ranged the treasured valuables of the Dyaks—old jars, some of which are of great value, and brass gongs, and guns. Their cups and plates are hung up in rows flat against the walls. The flooring is the same as that of the veranda, and is made of split palm or bamboo tied down with cane. The floor is swept after a fashion, the refuse falling through the flooring to the ground underneath. But the room is stuffy, and not such a pleasant place as the open veranda. The pigs and poultry occupy the waste space under the house.

From the *bilik* there is a ladder which leads to an upper room, or loft (*sadau*), where they keep their tools and store their paddy. If the family be a large one, the young unmarried girls sleep in this loft, the boys and young men sleeping outside in the veranda.

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6 /

285 Mats are made either with split cane or from the outer bark of reeds. The women are very clever at plaiting, and some of their mats have beautiful designs.

They also make baskets of different sizes and shapes, some of which have coloured designs worked into them.

224 Hunting is with the Dyaks an occasional pursuit. They live upon a vegetable rather than upon an animal diet. But in a Dyak house there are generally to be found one or two men who go out hunting for wild pig or deer on any days when they are free from their usual farm work.

[231] The Dyak dogs are small and tawny in colour, and sagacious and clever in the jungle.

Native hunting with good dogs is easy work. The master loiters about, and the dogs beat the jungle for themselves. When they have found a scent, they give tongue, and soon run the animal to bay. The master knows from the peculiar bark of the dogs if they are keeping some animal at bay, and follows them and spears the game. The boars are fierce and dangerous when wounded, and turn furiously on the hunter, who often has to climb a tree to escape from their tusks. The dogs are very useful, and by attacking the hind legs of the animal keep making it turn round.

Deer are more easily run down than pigs, because they have not the strength to go any great distance, especially in the hot weather.

A favourite way of catching deer is to send a man to follow the spoor of a deer, and to find out where it lies to rest during the heat of the day. Then large nets made of fine cane are hung around, and the deer is driven into these by a large number of men, women, and boys making a noise. When the deer is caught in the net, he is soon killed.

A variety of traps are made by the Dyaks to catch

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

their table. They have their rice on plates, or sometimes upon clean leaves. They eat with their fingers, dipping the hand when necessary into the common stock of salt, or common dish of meat or vegetables. They eat with their right hand, compressing the rice into portions of convenient size.

Nearly every animal is eaten by the Dyaks; fish, venison, and pork are eaten by all, but many tribes eat monkeys, snakes, and even crocodiles.

When breakfast is over, they clean the crockery and put it away. The mats are swept and taken up, and the refuse thrown through the open floor for the pigs and poultry under the house to eat.

Each long Dyak village house has its headman, who generally occupies a room in the middle of the house. He is called the *tuai rumah*—"the old man or chief of the house"—and he settles all disputes among the inmates, and decides the amount of the fine the guilty party has to pay. Great deference is paid to him, and as a general rule his people abide by his decisions. But his power is only one of persuasion, and depends upon his personal ability and sense of justice. He cannot in any way coerce his people into obedience. Upon the prestige and conduct of this *tuai rumah* depends the number of families a Dyak house contains. If he be a man of strong personal character, clear-headed, and upright in his dealings, many will settle under him. If he be otherwise, he will quickly lose the families living in his house. They will migrate to other houses where the headman is one they admire and respect.

There are certain laws among the Dyaks with regard to a family leaving a house. If a new house is to be built, any families of the former inmates may refuse to make

17:Bedford D-5 (1958) 1959 OC6 Iban OC6
Rumah Bujak

175 During the occupation the Japanese cut a channel through
[133] the narrow waist of a *tanjong* downriver from Simanggang. As a consequence water was diverted from a large loop of the river which dried out leaving an area of very fertile padi land. The people of Rumah Bujak settled on this land in 1943.

[423] After the occupation disputes arose regarding right of tenure of land on which the people of Rumah Bujak had settled. Several legal actions arose, as a result of which the people of Rumah Bujak were allowed to remain where they were. They also retain the rubber gardens at the site of their old house at Sungai Pinggai.

342 The present house was built in 1946. Several *langkaus* (temporary dwellings) were built alongside the house in 1955.

The original house built at Pruan contained 19 doors. Since its completion 11 *langkaus* have been built at the ends of the original longhouse.

162 The population of the longhouse was 169 at the start of the
621 investigation. During the period of investigation there were five births and one death. The death was that of a monster shortly
165 after birth, following a pregnancy complicated by hydramnios.

361 The house is built on low-lying tidal swamp. On two or three days each month the ground under and about the house is
356 flooded at high tide. The rooms are small, dark and hot. Some are kept moderately clean but some are very dirty. The majority
342 of rooms have separate kitchens.

● 231 Animals and poultry are reared under the house. The ground underneath and around the house is liberally strewn with
364 rubbish of all descriptions. There is no formal system of sewage
514 disposal. The occupants of the house defaecate and micturate through holes in the verandah and at the rear of the rooms in the time honoured fashion. Faeces are devoured by pigs and
[231] poultry.

Agriculture

241 The people of Rumah Bujak own extremely fertile swamp
433 padi land. They grow sufficient rice for their own needs and

17:Bedford D-5 (1958) 1959 OC6 Iban OC6
Rumah Bujak

a surplus which they sell to the bazaar. The padi is planted in July and August and harvested in February and March. They grow vegetables and fruit around the house and along the bunds between the padi fields, partly for their own consumption and partly to sell in the bazaar. They rear pigs and poultry and own five head of cattle comprising one bull and four cows.

When not employed in padi cultivation and jobs about the longhouse the people spend a large portion of each year at Sungai Pinggai tapping rubber. While so employed they live in their rubber gardens for days or weeks at a time.

Social Pattern

The situation at Rumah Bujak, where the people live part of the year in the longhouse and part of the year in *langkaus* a considerable distance from the longhouse, travelling between the two places as required is the rule rather than the exception in the Second Division. For example many Sea Dayaks in the Saribas and Rimbas Rivers have their longhouses upriver and swamp padi fields downriver, travelling between the two as required.

In short the Sea Dayak in the Second Division at least is semi-nomadic. This factor would assume great importance if medical surveys or the attack on specific diseases by mass drug administration were being planned, where it is necessary to have as near one hundred per cent of the population as possible in the longhouse at the same time. If a wide area were being covered by such a campaign, no particular season of the year would be ideal for all parts of the area in which the campaigning was being carried out.

The Sea Dayak is understandably reluctant to curtail his movements to and fro, as they have usually an agricultural motive and on agriculture his main source of livelihood depends. The only answer to this problem would be intensive propaganda before a medical campaign enlisting the enthusiastic help of the administrative authorities.

This problem of continuous migration kept cropping up throughout the present study. It made investigations more laborious and time-consuming than they would otherwise have been.

222 824 The most important fruits commercially include several species of banana (pisang pisang, pisang keling, pisang ambon and pisang mas), plantains (pisang tandok), jackfruit (buah nangka, buah temedak), mango (buah mangga, buah kuini), papaya or pawpaw (buah beti', buah rungan), guava (jambu batu), Malay apple (jambu merah), water apple (jambu ai), mangosteen (buah manggis, buah sikup), oranges (buah limau), pomelo (limau besai), pineapple (buah berunai, nanas), soursop (durian belanda), star fruit buah belimbing), rambutan (buah sibau), and durian (buah rian).[18] The durian deserves especial note because of its incomparable character.[19] [435] The fruit is in great demand and in an off-season, such as during August, 1971, an average size fruit may cost M$ 4 to 5.

314 The chief exploitation of the nipa palm for sugar occurs in the First Division. The Ibans and Malays of the Lower Rejang and Igan Rivers derive income from the manufacture of roofing thatch (attap) from the nipa leaves and coverings (kajang) from the nipa shoots (sumbok). They also manufacture cigarette papers (daun rokok or rokok apong) which, together with the other items, are taken to market when a sufficient quantity has been manufactured.

[231] The sago palm is an important source of fodder for pigs among the Ibans, but has little commercial value to them, as it does among the

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[18] For comprehensive listing, description and scientific names, see Allen, 1967.

[19] An incomparable description of this scatoleous fruit appears in the Encylopedia Brittanica, "Durian."

Malanus who manufacture sago flour (cf. Morris, 1964). Sago palms are held by Iban families under customary rights. The trunk of the palm is sawed into 30 inch lengths, split and rasped (diparut) for pig fodder. Sago also is eaten as a rice substitute when the rice supply is exhausted and Ibans have no money with which to buy more.[20] In the Middle Rejang and its tributaries, where the nipa palm does not grow, the leaves of the sago palm (daun mulong) are used for thatching and coverings. The sago nut (buah mulong) is a part of Iban pharmacology, being highly astringent and used in the treatment of diarrhea.

Numerous reeds grow both in low-lying and higher land, and are collected for the manufacture of mats and baskets by women. The reeds (ui, purun, bemban) are cut and taken to the longhouse where they are alternately dried and soaked until the outer covering (kulit) can be cut away (disimu', dilit) with a sharp, long-handled knife (lungga). The species bemban is the most valuable because it requires great attention in preparation for weaving. It is exposed to dew (diperambun) for five to seven nights in order to achieve the prized lightness of color. If rain falls the bemban is quickly retrieved by the women for rain will blacken the bemban. The weaving of baskets and mats is done by women on the longhouse ruai or covered common verandah. In addition to the

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[20] A period that is described colorfully but dreadfully as maya bulan gantong sendok, "when the rice-ladle hangs (empty over the pot)."

226 by splitting open submerged logs from which they are removed. The presence of several species of fish depends upon conditions of the water, but other species are almost constantly present.

226 825 The most common fish are the ikan semah, tapah, empuran, keli', baung, puyu, tilan, lajong, labang, and enseluai. During high tides and 227 flooding, Ibans stretch nets (pukat, v.f., mukat) across streams or suspend nets over a framework at a slope of 20° (nyelambau). In smaller streams fish-traps (bubu) are planted and fishing is done with pole and hook (nginti'). In larger waters, the cast-net (jala, v.f., nyala) is used. When streams are low, snails are collected from the banks, and when the water is high on the main rivers and at the mouths of their tributaries, shrimp are netted.

226 The near absence of fish in some hilly regions and some smaller streams has prompted Ibans to dig fishponds, varying in size from 1300 cubic feet to 22 acres. The ponds are stocked with fingerlings or fry purchased from Chinese traders or supplied by the Agriculture Department. [434] The harvest of a large pond earns a profit of several hundred dollars for the owner, who also has his own supply of fish.

C. Animal Husbandry

231 In this final section dealing with the Ibans' adaptation, we shall consider briefly the types and purposes of animals and fowl which they [262] keep. As a general rule, the livestock which is considered edible by them is kept either for ceremonial purposes or for marketing, and little of it is consumed in the daily fare of the Iban.

231/235 Almost all families keep (nginang) chickens and pigs for gawai. In more traditional houses, the chickens are kept in rattan cages (kerungan) which are suspended from the underside of the ruai or common verandah. In more modern houses, there often are separate chicken-houses. Pigs roam around and beneath the longhouse, feeding off the droppings that fall through the slats of the floor, or off sago logs. In some areas, the [654] pigs are kept penned in front of the house or beneath it. A number of Ibans have taken advantage of a program of subsidies provided by the Agriculture Department to put pig-houses and improve their stock.

231 [224] Although hunting is an infrequent activity and adds little to the food-supply of the Ibans of this District, yet dogs are kept by almost every bilik-family, and in some houses threaten to outnumber and even outeat the human population. In most houses, dogs have the roam of the ruai where their steps revereberate on the loosely placed planks. When their presence becomes bothersome, a swift kick or punch sends them scurrying away. Cats prowl over the bilik walls and through the loft in search of rats and other prey.

In a few longhouses, larger stock and other fowl such as ducks and geese are kept. Some individuals have purchased goats, water-buffalo and cattle which have been imported by Government or church-related agricultural programs. In most cases, attempts at keeping these types of livestock have not been successful due to inadequate and improper food-supplies, or conditions that were too unhealthy for the stock. Where they

18:Sutliv E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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231 have been kept, the owners invariably have sold them or slaughtered the animals for gawai.

182 Iban adaptation is divided among a number of activities in response to the physical habitat and social environment in which they live. The principal means of acquiring their food for a majority of families is through rice horticulture. Because of the insufficiency of yields, about 64 per cent of all families have to purchase rice with money received for wages or from the sale of rubber, pepper or other produce. Fishing, collecting and keeping livestock are the other major ways Ibans supplement their food and income.

342 When a family builds a temporary pelaboh with the intention of
621 adding onto the longhouse in the future, its members are not considered fully participants in the affairs of the house by members who are living in the house proper. However, when a family builds a pelaboh of more enduring materials in order to give up the bilik to a son and his family, as in the case of Umpi, his generosity earns him the praise of the community of which he is readily acknowledged a full participant.

342 The area under the longhouse generally is wet and cluttered with
231 litter that drops through slats into the floor. Chickens are placed in rattan baskets that are suspended from the underside of the ruai, and fed by moving a plank of the floor. Pigs root about in the muck, penned in by split bamboo fences behind and before the house and released in the early morning to grub about for any roots and insects in the secondary growth.

366 Each of the four houses, and a majority of the 37 houses surveyed, has a shophouse conveniently located nearby where matches, sugar, salt and tinned milk and meat can be exchanged for rubber or pepper. Enchul Apai Jimmy has operated his shop successfully for more than 15 years at Rumah Gaong, and Ambas Apai Suda has profited from his shop at Rumah Nyala for the past ten years. Enchul's shop is off his tanju', and Ambas' is located twenty yards from the end of Rumah Nyala.

343 Other buildings, such as smoke-houses for processing rubber and, in some communities, separate houses for chickens, pigs and goats, complete

343 the layout of the settlements. In the case of Rumah Gaong, Enchul has
231 built a cattle-shed for his 15 head of cattle, a watering pond, and
491 garage-storage shed two miles distance from Rumah Gaong and at the end of the three mile road which he had extended into his property from the Durin Road.

361 Site plans for Rumah Nyala and Rumah Gaong are included on the following pages to indicate visually the relative positions of the buildings in the settlements.

D. Land Tenure and Use

423 To describe the Ibans as a land-hungry people is no misstatement.
181 Previously, they desired new land for the practice of shifting cultivation. Today, many realize the economic potential of land on a highly inflated market, and some are sellers, other speculators.

The movements of various groups of Ibans into the Sibu District were similar in the practices and principles followed in use and tenure. When members of a community entered a new area, they discussed and decided among themselves how much land would be needed by each family involved. Each family in turn was allotted the amount agreed upon-ten fathoms, twenty fathoms - on the water's edge, and then the distance cleared from the river depended upon the labor-force and industry of each family. But, one principle that was firmly applied was that each unit had to clear straight away from the river and parallel to families on either side. It may be imagined that this gave rise to a number of land cases in which the issue

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After purchasing the rice-mill Enchul still had money left and invested M$400 in two tracts of land west of Rumah Gaong. He built a cattle-shed and bought fourteen head of cattle, a hearty type that could live on the scrub-grass of his land.[14]

After he had bought the cattle, Enchul heard that the Government was going to open a road to Oya. He began to plan immediately to buy a car realizing that it would be easier to travel by land than by water. In 1966, after the road had been cut through the forest some three miles distance from Rumah Gaong he bought an Austin van for M$9,850.

> "I studied how to drive - really hard - because at that time we Ibans didn't know how to drive a car. I didn't hire a teacher, but studied with Chinese with whom I was familiar, such as Ah Lin and Teh Ong, a tailor on Channel Road. Because they hadn't seen an Iban driving a taxi or car for profit, they didn't charge me, figuring that I was just going to play with my car."

After he thought that he knew enough, Enchul went to Sibu and made arrangements to take a test for his license. He and three of his companions met a Chinese who said to them,

> "Never mind taking the test. If you will give me one hundred dollars each, I can get your licenses for you."

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[14] Enchul has planted three species of grass obtained from a Government center to supplement the sparse grass and shrubs of his land.